NATIONAL REVIEW

25 Cents

May 11, 1957

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

The Menace of the Budget

HARRY FLOOD BYRD

The Bankruptcy of American Optimism

FREDERICK D. WILHELMSEN

Knowland's Rising Star

AN EDITORIAL

Articles and Reviews by · · · · · · JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

RUSSELL KIRK · ANTHONY LEJEUNE · ROBERT PHELPS

F. R. BUCKLEY · MURRAY N. ROTHBARD · SAM M. JONES

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For the Record

The government's farm aid program adds up to this: The Treasury will put out an average of $1,000 in the next fiscal year for each of the 4.7 million farms in the nation....Despite the soil bank and the foreign surplus disposal programs, farm surpluses in the fifth year of the Eisenhower Administration are nearly three times as large as they were in 1952 and farm prices average 15 per cent less . . . . The American Cotton Producers Association which meets this week is expected to come out for higher acreage allotments and the scrapping of the price-propping machinery on the grounds that artificial price levels hurt domestic cotton in its fight with man-made fibers.

Senator Goldwater has formally asked the McClellan Committee to investigate violence in the three-year-old Kohler strike. Goldwater says 800 individual incidents of violence have been reported . . . . Sen. Carl Curtis of Nebraska is pushing for legislation to ban secondary boycotts in labor disputes . . . . A non-striking employee of the Blue Ridge Glass Corporation in Kingsport, Tennessee, was killed April 30 in a dynamite blast. It was the seventeenth dynamiting case in that strike.

Senator Knowland says the Administration is considering the resumption of military shipments to Yugoslavia, including 200 modern jet fighters. Knowland says he will oppose any such program . . . . Once Congress has authorized an additional billion dollars in the farm surplus disposal program, the way will be clear to increase our present aid-to-Poland program, Washington sources report . . . .Both Canada and Australia have protested that our foreign aid disposal program has cut into their foreign wheat markets.

Sales were up in the first quarter of 1957, but profit margins lower as stiff competition kept prices down while manufacturing and distribution costs rose with almost automatic wage increases . . . . U.S. employees overseas have now topped half a million, exclusive of U.S. servicemen.... The NAM, in its annual analysis of the budget, claims that it could, with safety, be cut $8.2 billion. The detailed analysis—"How and Where to Cut the Budget"—sells for $1.00 (2 E. 48th St., N.Y.C.).... Some proponents of economy in government these days are wearing "I like Edgar" buttons.

NATIONAL REVIEW

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

EDITOR and PUBLISHER: Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.

EDITORS

L. Brent Bozell — James Burnham
John Chamberlain — Willmoore Kendall
Suzanne La Follette — William S. Schlamm

PRODUCTION EDITOR: Mabel Wood

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT: Sam M. Jones

ASSOCIATES

Priscilla L. Buckley — Frank S. Meyer
Jonathan Mitchell — Morrie Ryskind

CONTRIBUTORS

C. D. Batchelor, John C. Caldwell, Frank Chodorov, John Abbot Clark, Forrest Davis, A. Derso, Max Eastman, Medford Evans, Karl Hess, John D. Kreuttner, J. B. Matthews, Gerhart Niemeyer, Revilo Oliver, E. Merrill Root, Freda Utley, Richard M. Weaver, Gen. Charles A. Willoughby

FOREIGN CONTRIBUTORS

London: Anthony Lejeune
Geneva: Willhelm Roepke — *Madrid*: J. Dervin
Munich: E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn

BUSINESS MANAGER: Theodore A. Driscoll

ASSISTANT TO THE PUBLISHER: J. P. McFadden

CONTENTS

MAY 11, 1957 VOL. III, NO. 19

THE WEEK 439

ARTICLES

The Menace of the Budget ...Harry Flood Byrd 445
The Bankruptcy of American Optimism
Frederick D. Wilhelmsen 449

DEPARTMENTS

For the Record 438
Letter from London .....Anthony Lejeune 447
From Washington Straight .....Sam M. Jones 448
Letter from the Continent
E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn 452
From the Academy .....Russell Kirk 453
To the Editor 458

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Remember Liberation? .....John Chamberlain 454
Hamiltonian Schizophrenia .....F. R. Buckley 455
Hello, Nothing .....Robert Phelps 456
Outside the Pale .....Murray N. Rothbard 456
Spanish Mission .....Roy Campbell 456
Juridical Tour .....J. B. 457

POEM

On the Eighth Day .....Herbert A. Kenny 446

NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly, except second and third weeks in August, at Orange, Conn., by National Weekly, Inc.

Copyrighted 1957 in the U.S.A. by National Weekly, Inc.

Second-class mail privileges authorized at Orange, Conn.

EDITORIAL AND SUBSCRIPTION OFFICES:
211 East 37th St.
New York 16, N. Y.
Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-0941

RATES, Twenty cents a copy, $7.00 a year, $13.00 for two years. Foreign, $9.00 a year; Canada, $8.00 a year.

The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The WEEK

● Hearings on the treaty of adherence to the proposed International Atomic Energy Agency start May 9 before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The speed with which the Soviet Union ratified the treaty has notably dimmed senatorial enthusiasm for it. State Department spokesmen are busily preparing testimony to obscure such demonstrable facts as that under its provisions Red China will probably gain early membership, and American-produced supplies of U-238 (the basic material for nuclear weapons) will be allocated to neutralist and enemy nations. The mounting opposition in the Senate, if given articulate public backing, has a good chance to block ratification, which under the Constitution requires a two-thirds majority.

● NATIONAL REVIEW will begin to deplore Mr. Charles E. Bohlen's transfer from Moscow to Manila late in the afternoon on the day someone persuades us that he should have been sent to Moscow in the first place.

● Llewellyn E. Thompson, Jr., who has been named by the President to succeed Charles E. Bohlen as ambassador to the Soviet Union, is a thoroughly trained, widely experienced professional diplomat. He knows Russian, has served (1940-43) in Moscow, and has dealt with Soviet affairs in home assignments. At present ambassador to Vienna, his former posts have included London and Rome. Interpreting diplomacy in the older technical sense according to which the job of a diplomat is to carry out the policy of his government without reference to his subjective opinions, Mr. Thompson—unlike his now demoted predecessor at Moscow—has kept clear of political and ideological involvement. The appointment is relevant and, if one grants the desirability of diplomatic representation in a nation with which we are at war, commendable.

● The special committee under Senator John F. Kennedy, appointed by the Senate to select the five outstanding senators of the past, has done the impossible: it has succeeded. Some Liberal teeth may gnash at the absence of a true blue internationalist, but the rest of us will find it hard to see how the names on the unanimously voted list could be improved on, whether judged as individuals or as symbols of our history: Henry Clay of Kentucky, Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, Robert M. La Follette, Sr., of Wisconsin, Robert A. Taft of Ohio. To complete the record of the miracle—Senator Kennedy's committee spent only 10 per cent of its appropriation.

● Upholders of "sea power," who have been hard pressed in recent years by advocates of an undiluted air power strategy, feel that the Jordanian crisis has been strengthening their contention that a navy still has a major function in the modern epic. They point out that Western power was brought to bear quickly and effectively on the key area only because the U.S. Sixth Fleet controlled the waters of the Mediterranean, and was ready to act on command. They contend, further, that there was important political advantage in our having been able to use a navy. The naval unit did not need to enter any nation's territory in order to focus its psychological and deterrent weight on the critical locality. In contrast, large concentrations of Soviet air power, back of the Caucasus, weighed little in the local Jordanian scale. Short of open war, the Soviet planes could have altered the balance only by direct violation of Mideastern territorial integrity.

● The newly instituted Communist government of the Indian state of Kerala has proposed to its legislature the nationalization of foreign-owned property If the central government in New Delhi fails to block the measure, there is a good chance the idea will catch on elsewhere in India. Thus, one more reason for foreign private investors to think twice before risking capital in Nehru's country.

● A little less than a year ago President Sukarno of Indonesia was visiting in Washington and likening the struggles of his young nation to those of the Lexington farmers who fired "the shot heard round the world" in 1775. Entranced by Sukarno's "brand of independent nationalism," *Life* magazine pulled out all its editorial stops to salute Sukarno as a "fellow democrat who talks the kind of language we ought to talk more ourselves." Well, Sukarno has gone right on talking, probably to *Life's* great embarrassment. His latest: "The people have to be organized, guided and taught from above. . . . In Egypt they are building new roads because they think in a revolutionary way. . . . Streets and boulevards are being built in the Soviet through the concerted efforts of the people." The Lexington farmers hardly talked that way; in fact, they fired on the Redcoats because they were tired of being "organized, guided and taught from above."

● When Indiana became the first industrial state to pass right-to-work legislation, apologists for the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

closed shop were stunned: they had banked on persuading the nation that employees did not want the option to reject, or accept, union membership. Among those who helped explode this myth was the former labor commissioner of Indiana, George Hinkle. Mr. Hinkle, whose father was a union official, and who at one time served as divisional representative for the United Auto Workers, launched his campaign against compulsory union membership when he found that his dues were regularly contributed to the campaign funds of candidates of whom he disapproved. Mr. Hinkle concluded that, in labor relations too, there was no substitute for freedom.

● Another ringing demonstration has been furnished of the people's ardent desire for lots and lots of foreign aid. The St. Louis Council on World Affairs invited the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee of the Senate to conduct a "grass roots" hearing in its home town. Obligingly, the Council on World Affairs undertook to screen most of the witnesses to grass roots sentiment—and lo and behold, it develops that the grass roots is sore at Congress for being "stampeded by a noisy minority" into *cutting* a billion dollars from the budget, and recommends that *more* of the money be channeled through the United Nations; and urges that five billion is not nearly enough to spend on foreign aid. One witness, however, disgraced herself. Mrs. Phyllis Schlafly, a housewife with an M.A. in political science, put forward the reactionary position that only the interest of the national security should guide Congress in sending money abroad; and that, therefore, only reliably anti-Communist nations qualify for U.S. aid. The St. Louis Council on World Affairs is looking for a new, and finer, screen.

● Following Polish Premier Cyrankiewicz's recent visit to the Far East, special relations between Poland and Red China seem to be developing. Mao Tse-tung himself is expected to come to Poland this summer in his first trip to the Western world. Polish and Chinese theoreticians are discussing, in a kind of public dialogue, the new theses about the "inevitable contradictions within Communist society and inside Communist parties." The commonsense meaning of this dialectical problem is a debate over the limits of permissible differences among Communist individuals, parties and nations.

● During the past quarter-century, says the First National City Bank Monthly Letter, the civilian labor force in the U.S. has grown at the rate of 1.5 per cent a year compounded, while total government civilian employment has expanded at the rate of 3.2 per cent compounded. Projecting the trends into the future, the First National City Bank finds that in 2069 A.D. we shall all be working for the government. Just how the two rising curves can be projected at a continuously compounding rate when they each represent a competitive scramble to soak up 100 per cent of the same item is beyond our feeble arithmetic. Nevertheless, the First National City Bank should be commended for calling attention to the workings of "Parkinson's Law," which says that bureaucracy never unwinds.

● Neither snow nor rain nor heat nor gloom of night, nor some 17,000 disparaging words of testimony before a congressional committee deter Mr. Bryton Barron from his self-appointed course, which is to force a full congressional investigation of the State Department. The Department tried recently to discredit its former historian (see "From Washington Straight"—April 20) by blasting his character before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations. Department officials concentrated on painting Barron as an irascible and unreliable troublemaker, rather than come to grips with his charges that the Department had wilfully distorted and suppressed some of the Yalta papers. We are happy to report that not only does the persistent Mr. Barron refuse to be muzzled (he's on a speaking tour at the moment) but that the publicity resulting from the attempted smear has sent his book, *Inside the State Department,* into a second printing.

● Diamond smuggling, as a profession, has come of age. The practitioners of this business were, by tradition, fearless men who dared high seas, treacherous currents, fog-bound rocky coastlines and dogged customs officials to satisfy the requirements of a free market. Today, though they continue to hurdle political impediments to the law of supply and demand, diamond smugglers have become stodgy and security-conscious. An insurance company has been formed to guard them against mishap, or confiscation of their wares. Next thing you know, they'll have a lobby.

● Note on morals in the Welfare State: In Norway, so the weekly *Farmand* tells us, the joint taxation of married couples sometimes exceeds the combined assessment on the comparable income of two single people. Quite in accordance with the arithmetic of the situation, this has recently resulted in a few divorces. The grounds for divorce: "Economic considerations." Nobody is surprised when the divorced couples go on living together quite as though nothing had happened.

● In connection with the Senate Choice of the five "outstanding" senators of the past, it might be noted that one of them—the elder Bob La Follette—was *almost* censured by his fellows. Hmmm.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Knowland's Rising Star

After the death of Robert A. Taft, William F. Knowland of California was chosen by his fellow Republicans in the Senate to be Republican Party leader. Senator Knowland's conception of that post has always differed from the idea, planted in New Deal days, that the function of the party leader, if his party is the same as that of the President, is to represent the President in Congress—to act, that is, as an ambassador of the Executive to the Legislative branch. In accord with our older constitutional tradition, Senator Knowland has, in contrast, considered himself to be the representative or ambassador of the party members within the Senate, or of the Senate as a whole, in relation to the Executive.

For those who are concerned with the preservation of our form of government, the difference is fundamental. Even under the latter conception, however, the political self-expression of a party leader is inevitably restricted by his formal duties. Ex officio, he has undertaken to act as liaison between White House and Capitol Hill, to commend the Executive's program in its best light to his colleagues of both parties, and to do what he can to preserve a harmonious working collaboration between President and Congress. This means that he must temper his personal views if they interfere with such duties, as they fairly frequently must in the case of men with clear opinions based on firmly believed principle.

On January 7 of this year Senator Knowland stated that he would not be a candidate for re-election in 1958. This was, and rightly, understood to be his announcement that he will seek the Presidential nomination in 1960, and, as a preliminary thereto, the governorship of his native state of California in 1958.

From that day Senator Knowland's relation to the President and to the country was transformed. He was placing his bid for the nation's highest office. He therefore could no longer rest within the confines of an intermediary and secondary role. He must make himself and his views known to the citizens as, potentially, their unique and constitutionally lonely highest officer. From the political logic of the January 7 statement, this process of self-definition at once began. In Senate debate as well as in speeches throughout the country, Mr. Knowland is gradually unfolding the political philosophy and program on which he is staking his further public career.

Mr. Knowland has no need to hurry, nor is it necessary at this stage to attempt any general estimate. Already, however, certain traits are discernible. For one thing, we may see that Mr. Knowland, now that he is launched on his independent political course, pulls gradually away from Mr. Eisenhower's bearing. Although Mr. Knowland is not in direct conflict with the President, he has made specific criti-

cism of one after another of the White House proposals in fields both foreign and domestic.

In most of these instances Mr. Knowland's position has been built on a conservative foundation shaped to a traditionally American mold. By careful analysis of last autumn's events in East Europe and the Middle East, he has shown how the UN cannot be relied on in defense of our national sovereignty and security. In demanding a drastic pruning of the federal budget, Mr. Knowland has explained how the huge government expenditures are related both to inflation and high taxes. But he has also begun to make clear the inseparable connection between all three—swollen budgets, high taxes, continuous inflation—and the welfare state, and to prove that budgets, taxes and inflation can be tamed only by abandoning the welfare state's collectivist measures. While firmly committed to an adequate military defense, he has insisted that projects of "foreign aid" can be justified only by American national interest. He has warned against the new drive to get Red China into the UN, to loosen all barriers to strategic trade with the Soviet Empire, and to hand out unconditioned dollars to Tito and his imitators. In a recent major talk in Los Angeles, Senator Knowland has departed still further from the usual rules of the slick practical politicians. He there gave plain endorsement to the principle of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

right-to-work laws: "The right to earn a living as an employee or a proprietor of a small business is a civil right of the first magnitude."

On the tactical side, the major preliminary test for the final run will be the 1958 contest for the governorship of California. The three factions of the California Republican Party—led, respectively, by Senator Knowland himself, by Governor Goodwin Knight and by Vice President Richard Nixon—are already in full maneuver. As Mr. Knowland moves forward nationally and locally, the talk of a Knight-Nixon coalition against him begins to spread. It follows from the laws of American politics that if Mr. Knowland is defeated for the governorship of his own state, he will be out of the Presidential running. But if he wins in California, he will be in the 1960 race to the finish.

What Happened to All Those Words?

During last year's Suez crisis, the President outdid Jawaharlal Nehru as moral preceptor of the world at large. We were fed daily doses of instruction on how a properly brought up nation ought to behave. *Good* countries are Just, Free and Peaceful, never shoot guns, settle all arguments by talk, obey all the Laws of Nations, and always run to the UN with their troubles. Britain, France and Israel, soundly spanked, were sent home to bed. The UN skirt settled cosily over Sinai, Gaza, Aqaba and the Canal.

The net result, as of the moment, seems to be that a demagogic dictator, whose soldiers wouldn't fight for him, is keeping on his own terms a critically valuable property, built by the insight, talent, and sweat of others. Over the lifeline of Europe and the crossroads of Eurafrica, the flag of Nasser waves unchallenged and supreme. Peace, it's wonderful.

But a little further north, a brave young king determined to defend himself, his family, his religious faith and his loyal followers from a planned and creeping destruction. He took up arms, and smote his enemies. Some he shot, others he imprisoned. He suspended the laws and sent his soldiers into the streets to club the mobs roused by his enemies' money and wiles. He made not the smallest nod of obeisance to the UN. When it came to a showdown that had gone beyond the limits of reasonable negotiation, he stood up to fight for what he believed in.

Perhaps emboldened by Hussein's example, the American government has acted in the Jordanian affair with a speed, clarity and firmness that had begun to seem lost qualities of our national youth. The situation is, certainly, far from fully in hand. The Kingdom of Jordan is itself an almost impossible long-run political entity, and the entire Middle East is a cauldron that will be many years in cooling. But Hussein's courage and our powerful and at the same time diplomatically discreet backing has at least transformed a nearly certain disaster into a chance of reasonable success. And the awkward floundering of our enemy has shown how much of his strength lies in our own normal lethargy.

But what happened to all those big words? Where was the UN when the Joint Chiefs sounded GQ throughout the Sixth Fleet? What happened to the renunciation of force as a means of settlement when Commander John Jones, Executive Officer on the lead ship of the Marine flotilla, announced: "We are prepared to shoot our way into a trouble spot if necessary"? Or when the Secretary of the Army proclaimed our readiness to airlift troops into Jordan "in a matter of days—not weeks"? What were we doing in supporting this aggressive King who took the initiative in shooting, exiling and jailing his enemy leaders? What kind of International Law is administered unilaterally by Pentagon decision?

Last autumn the President was carried away by his own rhetoric. His undoubtedly sincere devotion to international morality and justice can only gain substance by being related, as it is currently so promisingly related, to the realities of the human condition.

Enemy in Our Midst

When we wrote, a few weeks ago, that Little Orphan Annie was in trouble, we didn't really mean it. We were just having a little fun with what we took to be an eruption of crackpottery. Well sir, we have done a double take. For since writing insouciantly about Annie we have come across a deadly serious article in a deadly serious magazine by a (obviously) deadly serious man. The article is called "Orphan Annie Must Go!" (complete with exclamation point). The exhortation is by Professor Stephen P. Ryan, the chairman of the English Department of Xavier University in New Orleans; and the tocsin sounds in a recent issue of *America*. The complaint: Annie preaches rugged individualism.

Now as millions of Americans are aware, Little Orphan Annie is, episodically anyway, under the benevolent protection of one Daddy Warbucks. But because the comic strip is a "subtle and dangerous form of thought control" the public may *not* be so generally aware what kind of man Daddy Warbucks really is. Professor *Ryan* is not fooled, though. Warbucks is "a financial genius who made his money the hard way—that is [get that "that is"] *by being more ruthless than anyone else and proving that physical strength, violence and contempt for the weak*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and helpless really pay off in material success." (If you began this life poor and are ending it well-to-do, we now know how you got that way.) Little Orphan Annie, Professor Ryan summarizes, contains some "genuinely insidious propaganda"—such as that "there is too much paternalism in government"! And if you don't think *that* is insidious propaganda, why, you must be getting your philosophy right out of Daddy Warbucks.

Conclusion? (One must, bear in mind, always make a Constructive Suggestion after Tearing Something Down.) "Has little Orphan Annie 'come to our house to stay'? I sincerely hope not," Professor Ryan observes; "but she is in a good many American houses now, and it is we who must decide whether she goes or stays."

NATIONAL REVIEW's Constructive Suggestion: Professor Ryan should organize a boycott. He should consult the man who tried to bar the story of Robin Hood because it preaches Communism. He might also get in touch with the lady who has it in for Little Red Riding Hood for being Red. We trust the Liberal press will cooperate in organizing the boycott.

As for us—well, we're a crotchety bunch over here. We intend to go on following the adventures of Annie as we luxuriate in our Kohler bathtubs.

From the Ass's Mouth

After World War II Professor Oskar Lange, a Polish-born economist on the faculty of the University of Chicago, rushed to renew his Polish citizenship in time to become his nominally-freed country's first Ambassador to Washington. Later he returned to Poland to serve as an economic adviser to the government.

A confirmed Marxist, Lange was—and is—all for the idea of central planning. Nevertheless, it is from Lange that we now learn the full scope of the horrifying results of planning as it has been applied to Poland's economy over the past six years. In a paper which has just reached this country in translation, Lange tells of "disproportions" under the Polish *gosplan* which have brought the economy to the "verge of collapse." Living conditions have become incredibly hard; a general "indifference" to work "paralyzes our daily life." The consumer goods industries produce "substandard or unusable goods (rejects)," and this wastage has "extended to the mechanical industries, production of tools and transport equipment, etc." There is "bureaucratic anarchy" in distribution; farmers can't get industrial products, especially building materials; and there is a general resistance to increasing the production of livestock for "fear of being qualified in the category of kulaks."

In short, under "planning" the economy of Poland has gone to hell in a handbasket. Though Professor Lange pays his respects to the planning idea by asserting piously that "socialist ownership of the means of production has become the irrevocable basis of our national economy," no free enterpriser, not even Professor von Mises, could have painted the results of planning in the dire terms used by Comrade Lange.

"It Means Comrade!"

The *Daily Worker* is alight with pleasure over the release for television performance of a series of films which the *Worker* persists in describing as "democratic." "Democratic" is a shorthand way of saying that the films are either a) written by Communists, or b) friendly to Communists, or c) unfriendly to anti-Communists; preferably the three at a go, in which case you are in for a really first-class evening of democratic entertainment.

"Action in the North Atlantic," starring Humphrey Bogart, with a screen play by Communist wheel horse John Howard Lawson, gladdens the democratic heart, for there is a scene in it in which Captain Bogart and his merchant ship, beleaguered by Nazi submarines, are, in the words of the *Daily Worker's* naive critic, "electrified to see planes zooming across the skies that turn out to be friendly. 'They're ours—Russian planes!' they shout when one of them zooms down close enough for them to make out the Red Star of the smiling, waving Soviet pilot . . . And later as the liberty ship steams into Murmansk, the Russian longshoremen and women waiting for them cry 'tovarisch, tovarisch.' 'What's that mean?' one of the Americans asks. And another seaman answers: 'It means comrade!' "

A wonderful evening of entertainment it is. And to think that "this is one of the democratic films which got on the witchhunters' 'subversive' list [several years ago] and caused its author to be blacklisted by the movie companies." But "now the whole country is seeing it again on TV along with scores of other outstanding Hollywood fims of the 30s and 40s made by writers who have since been blacklisted, such as Dalton Trumbo's 'Thirty Seconds Over Tokyo,' Albert Maltz's 'Pride of the Marines,' Lester Cole's 'None Shall Escape,' Herbert Biberman's 'Master Race,' Lawson's 'Sahara,' Alvah Bessie's 'Objective Burma,' John Wexley's 'Hangmen Also Die' and others. As time goes on more and more Americans who see these films again on TV will grasp the connection between blacklisting of authors and the decline of democratic thought in Hollywood films."

Having grasped that connection more and more Americans will, let us hope, have a democratic go at the sponsors of these films.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Little Leaven . . .

Four or five years ago, an attractive and theretofore utterly domesticated housewife took a long look about her and observed that in Minneapolis the thoughts and doings of American conservatives were somewhat less well reported than the migrations of Portuguese men-of-war. In the event the latter should, in any numbers, turn up in the cool, still waters of Minnesota, the event would make the Minneapolis papers. But the Magna Carta could be signed in the Minneapolis Country Club, and if Senator McCarthy was present and voting, it wouldn't make page one. Not of the *Minneapolis Star* and *Tribune*, a morning-afternoon monopoly which, between them, do a massive amount of huffing and puffing about the virtues of listening to both sides of the question, thus, somehow, absolving themselves of the duty of reporting on any but a single side of a question.

So Mrs. Manion Pritchard set out to do something about it, and to just about everyone's horror, did. She founded the Conservative Citizens Committee. The CCC has, in recent years, brought to Minneapolis such mavericks as Senator McCarthy, Anthony Bouscaren, Robert Morris, Senator Jenner, E. Merrill Root, and Roy Cohn, to speak of happenings on the conservative and anti-Communist fronts. Every now and then there is a publicity breakthrough (Senator McCarthy made page one); but most often the local press has greeted the efforts of the CCC with the kind of pained compliance with journalistic duty that would bring the *New York Times* to record an assault by the president of the National City Bank upon his grandchildren's nurse: a discreet little paragraph on the tenth page of the third section.

Undaunted, Mrs. Pritchard and her collaborators push on. On the 7th of May, for example, they will present ex-Governor J. Bracken Lee on the question, of vital interest to those interested in the causes of such things, "Are We Taxing Our Way to Disaster?" We wish we could be there. Not only because of our respect for the Governor, but because we know some of the spirited members of the CCC; they are of that happy breed who do not daunt easily, who enjoy their work, and who will never surrender.

Men Are Few

Our beloved Roy Campbell is dead. His violent end last week in Portugal—his car crashed, killing him instantly—falls easily into place as an episode out of his autobiography, the terminal experience of the many physical adventures that sustained him all his life. As a boy he rejoiced in diving down to the ocean bed and immobilizing large and formidable squids by involuting their bulbous heads. Then he would race wild ponies at breakneck speed across the fields of his father's farm. Later, he jousted with the strongmen of Provence, and roped wild cattle, and plied the banderillas for the great matador Domingo Ortega—and charged down on fascist machine-gun nests in Tunisia. All this was Campbell's tame life. He fought serious fights, all his life, against creatures more cunning and more vindictive and more deadly than giant octopuses or mad bulls. Early in his life he began to oppose the developing social order: and when Roy Campbell opposed something, he turned on it with his furious energy and infinite skills: he dug in and fought and fought, and never budged.

In Spain, in the late thirties, he challenged the fashionable analysis of the contending factions, and backed the forces of Franco. In England he spotted the paternalists for what they were, and pledged to the death to resist the de-individualization of man and the denial of God. All this he did in such brilliant and cutting prose, in poetry of such alluring lyrical beauty, that he could not be ignored: so that he forced the attention of a whole generation of the literary intelligentsia of Europe to contend with Roy Campbell and his gods; to realize that so long as such a man was unconquered, the world was unconquered.

Many of us here at NATIONAL REVIEW knew him well. He was in this country as recently as a year ago. His body substantially broken, by bullhorns and jousting-lances, and shrapnel, but for it all as buoyant, as kindly, as amused and amusing, as ever. He might begin an evening recounting his experiences as a practical joker at Oxford and then recall how his perspicacious old friend T. S. Eliot, recognizing his falsetto voice over the telephone, foiled his elaborate plot to retaliate publicly against his enemies; or how he waylaid Stephen Spender at a pretentious meeting at the Ethical Community Center in London and forced him, at fist range, to retract insinuations that he had had fascist supporters; or how the beaches of South Africa look when the sun is rising in the winter; or how he came to translate St. John of the Cross; and, for those who couldn't wait to learn, how to execute, in proper fashion, an African tribal chant. The wonder of Roy Campbell never ended.

There indeed was a man.

Our contributors: HARRY FLOOD BYRD ("The Menace of the Budget"), Senator from Virginia since 1933, needs no introduction. . . . FREDERICK D. WILHELMSEN ("The Bankruptcy of American Optimism"), is Associate Professor of Philosophy at the University of Santa Clara, Santa Clara, California.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Menace of the Budget

The Senator from Virginia analyzes the President's luxury budget with that dedication to principle which makes him one of our great statesmen

HARRY FLOOD BYRD

The President has submitted to Congress the largest peacetime budget in the history of the nation. He requested $73.3 billion. As recommended by the President, this new budget includes funds for numerous new functions, projects and activities. It includes funds for renewing and expanding old ones. And it provides for indefensible increases all down the line.

It is a luxury budget on a global basis. Eighty countries are either receiving American foreign aid or have been recipients. This list includes practically every country in the world outside of Russia.

This budget contemplates continuation of present very excessive taxes at current rates, plus increase in postal rates. It estimates that continuation of present tax rates will bring in $3 billion more revenue next year than they are bringing in this year. This means more inflation is anticipated. (The value of the dollar dropped two more cents last year.)

To predicate a national budget on postal rate increase and further inflation of income, neither of which is assured, is an extremely dangerous policy. Without these prerequisites the budget is on a deficit basis. It is at best very obvious that the proposed budget is in precarious balance.

As Congress debates this luxury budget, the following facts should be considered:

This country is mortgaged to the hilt. The $275 billion federal debt is the equivalent of the assessed value of all the land, buildings, mines, machinery, factories, livestock—everything of tangible value in the United States. In addition, contingent liabilities of the federal government are approximately equal to the direct debt. These are obligations which you and I have guaranteed, such as losses from federal housing programs, etc.

The equivalent of 33 cents out of every dollar people of the United States earn now goes for taxes of some kind. And we owe so much money that it takes 10 per cent of our taxes just to pay the interest.

There is a limit beyond which even a country as great and rich as ours cannot go. I think we've reached it.

More State Aid

Many people assume that the size of this pending budget is accounted for largely by military needs. Actually, this budget calls for spending $2 billion *less* than in fiscal year 1954 on the military; but it asks for about $10 billion more in domestic-civilian expenditures.

This 1958 budget asks for fourteen new state aid programs, 67 in all. This represents a change in policy—a change from a policy of frugality in government on the part of this Administration to a policy of big government with power concentrated in Washington. This trend means that both political parties are now pledged to big government and big spending. Whom does that leave to be the watchdog for the people?

I believe that taxes are so burdensome that, if continued at present and proposed levels, they will lead to serious consequences.

They will take the money this nation's economy needs for growth. They are so oppressive that they will cause a downturn in business and in personal incomes which, in turn, will reduce the tax intake.

This luxury budget will unleash a tremendous inflationary force. Consider what has happened since 1940. By 1952 your dollar had lost 48 cents of its value. In 1953, when President Eisenhower—newly elected on economy promises—cut $9 billion from the proposed Truman budget, this stabilized the dollar. But under last year's record budget, another two cents of the dollar's value was lost. The new budget would chip off more.

The loss of half the purchasing power of its money should be a serious warning to any nation.

Public debt is not like private debt. If private debt is not paid off, it can be ended by bankruptcy proceedings, and maybe not many people are hurt. If public debt is not paid off—paid off with taxes—the result is disastrous inflation or repudiation. Either would destroy our form of government.

The original Marshall Plan for foreign aid was set up at $15 billion and had a time limit of four years. Since then we have spent $40 billion more in foreign aid. And now Congress has been asked to initiate vast new spending in the Middle East.

The debt of the United States is two and one-half times as great as the combined debt of twelve European nations that we have been helping. They have a smaller per-person debt than we have—but we're still contributing to them.

The federal government is no eternal spring gushing federal aid to states. The money comes from states and communities—from the people themselves—in taxes. Only some of it gets back through these programs. Federal bureaus take out a slice for administration, and then tell you how to use the part they send back. This weakens the ability of states and communities to help themselves, and limits the freedom of citizens.

It is easy to support government spending programs and difficult to oppose them. But we must stop somewhere.

I have never advocated anything which would impair the efficiency of our military defense, but I maintain that more than $6 billion can be cut from the pending federal budget without harm to any essential federal function. I have suggested that the President send a special message

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to Congress asking that tax-saving Hoover Commission recommendations be adopted. I shall continue to urge elimination of new spending proposals in this budget, including the fourteen grants-to-states programs. It may be necessary to cut this budget at a flat percentage rate across the board. The fact that nearly 1,200 pages are required to present the budget indicates the size of the task involved in trying to cut it item by item.

Actually, we should be reducing the public debt at this time. If the federal budget cannot be balanced with a margin for debt reduction under present peace and prosperity conditions, when can it be done?

Executive Controls Balances

Federal spending programs will start the new fiscal year with unexpended balances in old regular appropriations, and other expenditure authorizations, totaling $70 billion. If you assume enactment of the $73 billion in new appropriations requested in the President's budget, the total spending availability in the regular budget accounts would be $143.3 billion.

Expenditures in the coming year out of these tremendous balances are not subjected to review or action by Congress. They are controlled almost entirely by the Executive. For this reason, if expenditures are to be reduced substantially in the coming year, the combined effort of both the Executive Branch and Congress is required. This effort will be made if there is continuous and growing demand for it. Elected representatives of the people do respond to demands by the people!

Reductions of the size I have mentioned can and should be made without impairment of a single proper and essential federal function. Generally speaking:

The so-called national security activities, including military, atomic energy and stockpile, could be reduced $1.5 billion in appropriations simply by squeezing out the waste;

foreign aid could be reduced $2 billion in appropriations;

domestic-civilian activities could be reduced $3 billion in appropriations—a total cut in appropriations of $6.5 billion.

In the military, the suggested reductions would not reduce military manpower or curtail essential military procurement. They would contemplate no impairment of atomic energy development. They would simply eliminate, or at least reduce, the kind of military waste we all know about.

In foreign aid, the reduction would leave military assistance at its current level—and leave only enough economic aid to fill existing obligations. The foreign aid program was started after World War II as a temporary relief program, with an expiration date. Now, ten years and $50 billion later, it is proposed as an indefinitely permanent program; and now the Administration even wants to take it out of the budget and so eliminate an opportunity for annual review.

Domestic-civilian activities should be reduced at least 10 per cent. Under the President's budget $28.9 billion would be spent in the coming year on these domestic programs, projects and activities. This is an increase of 51 per cent since 1954.

Unless substantial action is taken in this direction at this time, federal budgets will continue to increase, the door will be closed to tax reduction in the foreseeable future and inflation will continue. The fundamental that people should support government will be abdicated for government support of people.

Thirty-seven million people are receiving federal payments. When those receiving indirect financial benefit from federal programs, projects and activities, and all interested relatives are taken into account, the spread of government paternalism is frighteningly obvious. We have already 2,500,000 federal employees, and the new budget adds 41,500 more.

The base of all free government is our fiscal solvency. Without it we cannot have military preparedness except under totalitarian methods such as those in Russia. Without the solvency of the American government, we would enter into an age of international darkness.

Our free enterprise system is the greatest deterrent in the world to Soviet aggression. It is our first line of defense. Our military forces are merely the tools through which the strength of this system is applied in war. And our enterprise system can only exist under solvent government.

Americans need no definition of the free enterprise system. It is the system that, within a span of some 160 years, has brought us from the impotency of thirteen colonies to our present position of world leadership. It has enabled us, with only 6 per cent of the world's population, to outproduce the rest of the world.

It is no exaggeration to say that there is literally nothing on earth more important than the preservation of the fiscal integrity of the Federal Government of the United States.

(Reprints of this article are available at 15 cents each, 100 for $10.00. Address Department R, NATIONAL REVIEW, *211 East 37th St., New York 16, N.Y.)*

On the Eighth Day

The technician pulled out all the
comrade's teeth
and dropped them in an ideological
bucket—
free of charge.
"Non-functional," the bureau said,
"with our predigested sesquipedalian
pap."
(The smile was a capitalistic snarl.
Laughter a popish superstition.)
COMMUNISM CONQUERS CARIES!
. . . the manufacture of dentures
. . . so non-productive
. . . abolished forever.
Dentists have died with lawyers and
brokers.
"In one degenerate democracy in its
last years
8,000,000 manhours were wasted on
7,000,000 upper plates alone
to say nothing of bridges, pivots,
lowers, fillings, bands, caps.
ALL HONOR TO OUR SECRETARY
FOR OUR GUMMY GLORY!"

The old man trembled before he
spoke
like a clock cocking to strike:
"Please leave the rotten molar in
the back of my mouth,"
he begged them, "I like to feel it
ache."
FOR THAT
They took away his ration card for
a week.

HERBERT A. KENNY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letter from London

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

Of Taxes and Wars

Recent weeks have brought significant news on military planning and the budget, significant for the whole foreseeable future of Britain and her allies.

The budget was what most people feared it would be: an exercise in minor concessions. Special relief was given to the shipbuilding industry and the iniquitous system of double taxation on foreign investments was ended. The entertainment tax paid on admissions to the theater was abolished, the tax on the price of movie seats was reduced. To compensate for these cuts, the cost of television licenses goes up by £1 a year. Purchase tax (30 per cent on the wholesale price) was halved on pots, pans, carpets and a few other household articles. The penal rates of surtax paid by anyone earning between £2,000 and £10,000 a year were slightly reduced and certain family allowances were increased. The standard rate of income tax stays unaltered at eight shillings and sixpence in the pound (45 per cent).

This was not a budget over which anyone could get very excited. The Socialists attacked it as "a rich man's budget," pandering to the discontented Tory supporters. The Conservatives defended it as "an opportunity budget," holding out new incentives for keen young people to work hard and rise in their professions. Accusation and defense are almost equally spurious. The twin pressures of inflation and high progressive taxation have been steadily distorting Britain's economic structure for the past seventeen years. This distortion is beginning to have very serious repercussions for the nation as a whole. On any but the most doctrinaire egalitarian principles, it would seem both just and expedient to try and correct this; and the reduction in surtax is a very small step in the right direction.

But that doesn't make it "a middle-class budget." Few if any of those absentee Conservative voters who have been casting such a chilly shadow over the Party's prospects have incomes of £2,000 a year, let alone more. The reduction in purchase tax will just about compensate for the extra pound on a television license—unless of course one buys a great many pots, pans and carpets. No, this isn't a vote-catching budget. It's a holding budget, with just enough promise of better things next year to prevent a major explosion inside the Conservative Party.

Meanwhile the first effects of our recent industrial troubles are making themselves felt. Higher railway and bus fares will follow the increase in railwaymen's wages. Prices will rise again, and further wage claims are already impending. (Personally, I find some ironic comfort in reading reports from America of swelling government expenditure accompanied by union pressure for higher wages: so many of the articles seem to be saying exactly what British newspapers said ten years ago; and I can only hope these warnings have more effect in the U.S. than they had here.)

Britain's new defense policy is partly dictated by economic considerations—not in the sense that the taxpayer can expect much relief from it but because, if nothing had been done, his burden would have become wholly intolerable. But this is only one, and probably not the greatest, of the considerations behind Mr. Sandys' new look. Some features of it were inevitable. Aircraft development, for instance, can no longer keep pace with missile development. Before the next generation of bombers could be put in the air, we should have offensive missiles more powerful than any bomber. Before the next generation of fighters could come into service, the Russians will have missiles which no fighter could shoot down. The Air Force and the aircraft manufacturers may feel hurt, but this had to come.

Naval prospects are still obscure. The Russians have built up a terrifying submarine fleet; but its importance, particularly as a menace to the North Atlantic lifeline, is much reduced if you assume, as Mr. Sandys does, that any full-scale war would be nuclear and probably short. More sinister is the possibility that submarines may be used as launching stations for missiles. One way or another, ships and naval aircraft will certainly have a part to play.

The keystone of this whole reconstruction is the army. Mr. Sandys hopes to end conscription by 1960 and build up a comparatively small regular army of highly mobile striking forces. To achieve this, he needs to attract twice as many regular recruits as any postwar Government has been able to do, and to expand the RAF Transport Command out of all recognition. If he succeeds, there should be a real gain in efficiency (Suez showed up the cumbrous nature of our present arrangements only too clearly), and the release of manpower into industry will benefit the country's economy.

In arriving at this plan, Mr. Sandys made several bold assumptions. The chief of them is that any major war will be fought with nuclear weapons because neither side would allow itself to be defeated while such a powerful shot lay unused in its locker. But the history of the past twelve years shows that the free world is more likely to be faced with a succession of limited local wars breaking out in various vulnerable spots around the globe. The essential question, then, is this: If the Communists exert the maximum military pressure short of provoking a nuclear war, will Britain have strong enough forces to play her part in meeting it? Mr. Sandys, of course, says yes.

The second vital assumption is that, except in a few predictable trouble spots, any probable conflict would find Britain and the U.S. fighting together. The logistics of the campaign would be Anglo-American rather than purely British. Both politically and strategically, this seems to me a plausible assumption.

Mr. Sandys has taken a gamble, but it is an imaginative gamble. One only wishes the Chancellor of the Exchequer had shown half as much courage.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from WASHINGTON *straight*

A NEWSLETTER

SAM M. JONES

It Happened Here

An international incident has been building up steam since Lt. Col. D. J. Anthony, Chief Veterinary Officer in the Marsh and Baxter Headquarters Plant, Brierley Hill, Staffordshire, England, emphatically challenged the scientific knowledge and practical ability of the Meat Inspection Service of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, before a congressional committee in April.

The Meat Inspection Service, established by act of Congress in 1908 following the Upton Sinclair exposé in *The Jungle*, polices the meat-packing industry of the U.S. Its agents inspect, before and after death, every meat animal slaughtered for interstate shipment—a total of 134 million annually, constituting one-third of all agricultural income in the U.S. Anything that might tend to discredit meat inspection has an atomic potential.

Col. Anthony did his best. He derided a ruling of the Department of Agriculture which prohibits the electrical stunning of hogs. Actually, he was lobbying for a bill before the Congress, authorizing this method. The results to date include embarrassment to his government, his principals, and possibly to himself.

At the time, the Chairman of the subcommittee, Rep. Poage of Waco, Texas, Chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture and eminent authority, was impressed and indicated a belief that the Department of Agriculture might be wrong. But Col. Anthony's international prestige took its first cropper when it was ascertained that he represents merely a local authority in England: the county of Staffordshire and/or the town of Brierly Hill.

The British Embassy disowned him. The U.S. Department of Agriculture filed an official protest with the British government via the State Department. As the smoke cleared, it appeared that this international incident had resulted from the importation of Col. Anthony by the Humane Society of the United States to instruct the American Congress. Mr. Fred Myers, executive director of the Humane Society of the United States, was named under oath by a member of the *New York Times* staff as the man who had introduced him into the Communist Party. (The Humane Society of the United States is not to be confused with the ancient, respected and authoritative American Humane Association.)

Every member of the House Committee on Agriculture last week received copies of the following letter from the Glendale Provision Co. of Detroit, Michigan:

> Dear Congressman:
>
> For the past two years we have been specializing in packaging canned hams which we import from Holland. We are given to understand that this is one of the countries where so-called "humane handling" of hogs is in effect. We are advised that they are prodded along by electric prods and/or put to sleep by electric shock. In any event either of the above conditions has resulted in blood spots appearing in the slices of ham.
>
> Therefore, under separate cover, I have taken the liberty of mailing you a package containing a couple of slices so that you may see for yourself one of the effects resulting from so-called "humane handling."
>
> These spots cause a terrific economic loss as it amounts to approximately 1% of the weight of the hams which, at the present market prices, is better than 9¢ per lb. (This means that hams containing spots cannot be sold as sliced ham and must be ground or used in some other way at a much lower price.)

The accompanying packages contained slices of bloody ham.

Col. Anthony and the Humane Society of the United States played a bold bluff that almost won. They couldn't sell Congress a ham sandwich now—much less a bill of goods.

What was the purpose of it all? How could a "humane society" help spread Communist barbarism? Easy. It could raise money from people who are genuinely humane, and use it for such purposes as lobbying for legislation which could play havoc with the basic food production and distribution of this nation.

Sounds melodramatic, but once upon a time the Chinese Reds were officially regarded as kindly agrarian reformers.

Slice or Slash?

Reinvigorated by thirteen days of rest and golf in Augusta, Georgia, the President returned to Washington last week in a fighting mood, determined to defend most of the major items to the last ditch in what Senator Byrd terms "a luxury budget on a global basis." [See p. 445.] So also returned Congress, many of whose members during the Easter recess had listened to urgent demands from their constituents to cut the budget to the bone. Mr. Eisenhower may appeal to the nation for support in one or a series of TV chats along the line taken by Secretary Dulles before the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee, that any major cuts would bring grievous harm to the nation.

Congressional resistance has strengthened rather than diminished, especially since it is now apparent that the United States will be expected to pay 40 per cent of the total bill for maintaining the United Nations armed forces in the Middle East. The additional $6,583,000 commitment would be included in a deficiency appropriation bill. Other recent unbudgeted costs show that the U. S. provided a $2,225,000 airlift for UN troops and $5,000,000 (of an $11,500,000 fund) for clearing the Suez Canal; and that the Navy was forced to spend an extra $8,000,000 for fuel because of the Canal's closing. There are certain to be cuts all along the line, with the final compromise somewhere between Byrd's demand for a six billion dollar *slash* and the President's recommendation of a half-billion dollar *slice*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Bankruptcy of American Optimism

Europe, says the author, created the myth of America as the land of honor—a myth which America also believed. But the ordeal of Hungary has tried us, and proved us empty

FREDERICK D. WILHELMSEN

The picture of Europe burnt into the folklore of the American consciousness is so well known it is almost embarrassing to detail it. We were the people of the future, they of the past; we stood for progress, they for decay; we for the clean and the civic and the responsible, they for the piracy of individualism and the chaos of selfish reaction. The very existence of our expatriates of the twenties and the literature of protest against Babbitry heightened the dominant self-assurance of the American consciousness.

The picture of America entertained by the poor and the dispossessed of the Mediterranean basin and the European heartland paralleled comically and exactly the picture of Europe drawn by Americans of all classes and regions. This European picture of America has nothing to do with the Puritan legend taught our own children. As D. H. Lawrence pointed out, the Puritans did not seek freedom and the full life. They were men terrified of joy and grace and beauty, men who brooded under the glowering shadow of their avenging God—that God who came back to Christendom riding west on the negations of the desert and the passion of pure religion. The Puritans fled the largeness and liberty of Baroque Europe. (It was only with difficulty that the broad common sense of the English motherland and the humanity of the Stuart Kings prevented the early settlers from turning the first colonies into totalitarian theocracies.)

The vision of America as the land of hope and freedom was the dream of the *Continent* and its toughness is attested by the fact that it has lasted for almost 150 years. Europeans — especially Mediterranean Latins and Slavs——living close to death and poverty and greed, often bruised and hardened by a century and a half of bad governments and corrupt economies, cynical and proud of their matchless inheritance, tired of its burden—looked across the Atlantic to this nation as a symbol of hope and a promise of escape. The American legend—the legend summed up by the Statue of Liberty and the teeming streets of New York, Chicago, and Detroit—was born and nurtured in Europe. Peopled by immigrants, America exists as a vision seen in a dream by men for whom reality had become too intolerable to bear. We are what Europe made us be.

There were Sicilians who greeted our troops in World War II with the request that Sicily be made the forty-ninth state. Each July 5 the jails of Prague are full of young men and women who dared to break out the Stars and Stripes under the guns of their Communist masters. Even the Germans, truculent and resentful after two defeats suffered at our hands, honor this nation by imitating it in all things industrial and commercial. The French, most reluctant of all peoples to alter their way of life, have studied American civilization with an intensity and vigor foreign to our own universities.

The intellectual issue is grasped when we understand that Americans asked the questions and Europeans answered them; that Americans posed as the promise and hope of the future and Europeans agreed, some with enthusiasm and others with reluctance. The existence of Neutralism has obscured the facts marshalled above; it has not altered them: Thus far Neutralists have failed to seize power in even one government in all Western Europe. The Old World might laugh at us; mock us; insult us behind our backs; rob us blind when we travelled abroad as tourists; sneer at our naive optimism and scorn our preoccupation with progress as petty and barbarian. All these were but compliments, the admissions of men who sensed in their hearts that ours was the future.

America Stands Dishonored

That hour of history has passed. Everything can now be dated Before Hungary and After. The air has cleared. It is an air clean like that in a cemetery before dawn. And if we meditate before the tomb of Hungary a terrible truth will come home to each one of us: it is no longer Europe that stands a mendicant before the bar of history; it is America that has been judged and found empty by civilization itself.

In November we Americans stood dishonored before the West. I take this as the central fact of the mid-century. Our resolute refusal to act in Hungary, a refusal subsequently given formally by the Secretary of State *in the name of principle,* has branded us a nation of cowards from Oslo to Madrid. Now the charge of cowardice can be borne by a nation provided its timorous policy masks a fundamental realism. But we Americans are being condemned abroad not only as cowards, but as fools; not only as cowards and fools, but as fools and cowards without vigor, without life, without that substance and being we and all Europe had credited to the American spirit.

That the United States should have failed Hungary because they were paralyzed with fear was at first incomprehensible to a continent bred on the conviction that Americans always risked the future and therefore gained it. That the United States

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

should find themselves maneuvered into the preposterous position of supporting the Soviet Union against their natural and traditional allies, of preaching homilies to the British and French after the abysmal failure to halt the murder of Hungary—these actions were less tragic in the eyes of Europe than stupefying. Tragedy has meaning, but American diplomacy during the past six months has seemed both irrational and craven. It is only now that Europeans, recovering their customary cynicism after the shock of Hungary, are beginning to see the joke. If I read the foreign press aright, it is not America that stands before the civilized world as the Great Fool of the Century: it is Europe for having been taken in for so long by the legend of American daring and idealism.

That these judgments may be severe and even unfair will be argued by some political philosophers here and abroad. That the judgments have been passed by the European man in the street can be doubted by no one sensitive to the temper of European opinion. The fact that we are being condemned on the Continent and in the British Isles should move us to examine the presuppositions not only of American foreign policy but of the mind of which that policy is but an instrument.

The Spell of Words

It is time we Americans faced the realities of the world in which we live. These realities are twofold: the facts of politics and the mind upon which those facts repose. That mind is as much a part of the reality of our time as are the facts themselves.

Among the facts the following are crucial. We can no longer surrender our foreign policy to the United Nations in the name of international morality because the United Nations today cannot stand above power blocs but must work through them. Our policy of "massive retaliation" has proved both a boomerang and an illusion: we have built an atomic and hydrogen stockpile so terrifying in its power for destruction that we are petrified at the thought of using it; it follows therefore that the very "massive" character of our military strength has permitted Russia to act with impunity in every local situation in which she feels it necessary to bolster her tottering empire. Our much-heralded dedication to moral principle is but the platitude of a Madison Avenue broadsheet. Our conscience, had we the courage to face it, is etched with the burnt-out face of Hungary.

If we faced the world as it really is we would cease the disgusting travesty of thinking that justice has been done the heroic Hungarian people simply because we have given a Hollywood reception to a few thousand Freedom Fighters who are then dumped on the economy to become short-order cooks and street cleaners. Finally, if we took a long look at the magic of the written and spoken word we would discover that we, the most inarticulate people of the West, have been living under the spell of words and only words for better than a decade.

I refuse to argue the above. They are simply facts and, as Newman once wrote, with facts one does not argue but accepts them as they are. The intellectual Left as well as the intellectual Right, both here and abroad, seemed for one sweet moment to close ranks in their joint horror over our total failure in Hungary, our almost comic confidence in declarations of disapproval, and our unmanly surrender to the United Nations of a burden it had no power to shoulder.

Moral indignation will not heal our sins. But it might prod us as the thorn of remorse to probe the Mind from whence comes this seeming insanity.

I use the word "seeming" advisedly. To the political philosopher all action has meaning. Our political paralysis before the world of today, a paralysis clearly observable since the elections of 1952, is a moral and intellectual disease entered into by this nation as a matter of principle. Four years before the events of last November, Eric Voegelin wrote in his *The New Science of Politics*:

> Dangers . . . will rather be met by magic operations in the dream world, such as disapproval, moral condemnation, declarations of intention, resolutions, appeals to the opinion of mankind, branding of enemies as aggressors, outlawing of war, propaganda for world peace and world government, etc. The intellectual and moral corruption which expresses itself in the aggregate of such magic operations may pervade a society with the weird ghostly atmosphere of a lunatic asylum, as we experience it in our time in the Western crisis.

The Gnostic (to use a term made popular by Voegelin) entertains dream assumptions about the perfectibility of man, and the ultimate benevolence of history. Gnosticism, that disease we of the West inherit from I know not where—perhaps from the medieval Catharists and beyond from that Near East which produced the Arabian Nights and the Lamp of Aladdin, that dream drugged with the illusion of a divine power for a glorified man who would right all things and himself make straight the crooked paths of the human heart—Gnosticism, that disease, has worked its poison into the blood of our body politic. But it has now run its course. Gnosticism decayed is the moral and intellectual rot which prevents us from acting today with that vigor which has ever marked the American character. The America of 1957 is a land of Optimists without a goal.

Recently a scholar defined the American mind as a "project." We have been a nation of projects from the Plymouth Rock Foundation to TVA. Our nervous practicality is by no means unique in Western history: the Romans were as practical as Americans. What is unique with us, however, is the American insistence that this nation is dedicated in a special manner to pioneering, to experimentation, to action; and this not for the sake of itself but for the sake of what is often called "the fuller life" for our children and for the generations yet to come. Possessed of a boundless confidence in action; buttressed by the Calvinist conviction that the Good News applied in a particular manner to ourselves; convinced that history is essentially benevolent; trusting, after an initial hesitation, the wisdom of the people; seizing upon mechanization as the anointed instrument of the American Dream—the mind of this people, at first hesitant and unsure because it still remembered Europe, finally gathering strength, then annealed in the blood of Gettysburg and The Wilderness, presented itself to the world as a Thing completely one with its own essence.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The forests have been cleared. The cities have been built. The children have been put to school. The slums are largely cleared. Poverty has been reduced from the mystery spoken of in the Gospel to a problem in social engineering. The fire has gone out of our old Radicalism: it takes real genius today to find a typical American who is oppressed or impoverished. The oppressed lie on the periphery of American society. Mexican migratory workers, Puerto Ricans in New York, marginal farmers, Negroes in the big cities—these are but remnants, the detritus of a people bent on enjoying the fruits of their own productivity. The battle for the Good Life has been won for the broad millions. Our much vaunted American Optimism has reached its goal. We have nowhere left to go.

Perhaps this is why our children dream of conquering the moon. In the meantime, however, they are educated in our great universities to accept things as they are; they learn their lesson well: the scramble each June to lose personal identity and merge the self in the great corporations constituting "The Permanent Revolution" has become a tradition on the American campus. "They no longer sell out at forty; they sign up at twenty-two," according to Mr. Louis Kronenberger, commenting on the comfortable and conformist youth of the day. We were once a nation taking pride in adventure and in the hope of things fresh and new. Today we wish only to become Men in Gray Flannel Suits. The Liberal Dream of the Full Life has conquered the continent and thus destroyed its old reforming zeal. At the risk of violating proper English usage, permit me to suggest that we have become the most "conservative" people in the Western world.

The disappearance of the "inner-directed man" and of the gospel of work and self-reliance have laid to rest the old Protestant Ethic. While still committed to the legend of risk and work and thrift; while still dominated, at least publicly, by the myths of the forests and the great plains beyond; while still preaching the doctrine of American righteousness inhabiting a future whose horizon will be bounded only by the Kingdom of God; while still telling our children and our constituents that these are the spurs making America the land of restless movement—the life has gone out of them and has left us empty and without a faith with which to face the world. We have come out of two great wars and a depression. We have shifted from a productive to a consuming economy. The simple truth is that Americans today, taken in the large and by the handful, want nothing better than to be left alone so that they may eat the fruit planted and pruned by their fathers.

Optimism without a goal is forced to adopt the strategy of inventing a fiction which passes among people as a reality. We have not invented this fiction consciously; it has been elaborated deep within our corporate psyche as a defense against our unwillingness to face the realities of the world in which we live. We have made words and bare abstractions do duty for a genuine commitment to the real. This was perhaps easier for us than for any other Western nation; we are largely a non-verbal, non-literary people: therefore we are more susceptible to being duped by the power of language. Thus we spoke in November of "responsible action through the United Nations," knowing deep in our hearts, but never saying it aloud to ourselves, that this was a safe tack because it was bound to produce what we *really* wanted: no action at all. Thus we reached the paradoxical situation of proclaiming that responsible action was one with inaction.

Eisenhower as Symbol

Perhaps our President, the most ungrammatical statesman in modern history, is the most apt symbol for the Gnostic mist with which we wrap our determination to do nothing that would risk our fortune or commit our word. He announced to the world that it was American policy to keep alive the hope for freedom within the satellite countries *and* that it was American policy not to encourage rebellion in those countries. Either half of the proposition can be understood and defended in isolation from the other; the two together make sense only in terms of Gnostic illusions about the future, illusions masking a profound determination to stand still and remain as we are.

Speaking recently in San Francisco, Mr. Adlai Stevenson declared that "we can't go on tottering from brink to brink . . . while our leaders assure us that all is well and tell us to relax and buy another car or swallow another tranquillizer." We need not agree with Mr. Stevenson's politics to see that he has captured in a phrase the mood of America today. Tranquillized and relaxed; fat with comfort, chrome, and complacency; soothed by legends that came out of a forest we never saw and out of a faith we hold no longer, we are a nation that has lost the respect of the world.

For years our intellectuals have been telling us that Christendom is dead, that the Old Order has run its course. Today we know it was all a lie. It was not the dream of the future and the Full Life that brought those children into the streets of Budapest: it was the call of Honor and the Decency of Death. It was not the promise of tomorrow but the presence of yesterday that moved the heart of Europe when Hungary freely mounted its cross. What is the West, what is Christendom? "It is a patriotism which is chivalric," wrote Hilaire Belloc. "In our earliest stories, we honor men fighting odds. Our epics are of small numbers against great; humility and charity are in them, lending a kind of magic strength to the sword." Christendom is honor and the fatherland and man with his back to the wall. It is the glory of lost causes and the splendor of certain defeat. It is the risk and the doom, the dice clacking at the feet of the Savior.

Christendom went down into the tomb with Christ in Hungary. It was Christendom when the women of Budapest marched through that broken city, mourning their dead and shouting defiance at the Soviet tanks lining the ruined streets. But Christ was not born in those final days of 1956. It is Good Friday in the West today. Hungary, that Hilt of Christendom, will rise again. If we mourn in America, let it not be for the Hungarian dead; let it be for our own dead honor.

(Reprints of this article are available at 15 cents each, 100 for $10.00. Address Department R, NATIONAL REVIEW, *211 East 37th St., New York 16, N.Y.)*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letter from the Continent

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

Campaign Commotion in Germany

The German political situation is getting complex. The Institute of Demoscopy (something like the Gallup Poll) has proclaimed that 33 per cent of the electorate are ready to vote Socialist and only 30 per cent stand for Adenauer's CDU. But it is highly questionable whether these data will still be valid in September.

The Socialists have no alternative program to offer to the German people—witness Herr Ollenhauer's declaration in Washington that, in case of a Socialist victory, Adenauer's general policy would be continued. Many a German voter asks himself why, under these circumstances, he should change horses in mid-stream. The "Old One" has thoroughly recovered from his illness, he is tougher than ever and could recently be seen in all illustrated weeklies cutting a marvelous figure at the court in Teheran. The picture of beautiful Empress Soraya, who is half German and the darling of all romantic Germans, taking his arm as they enter the banquet hall, will get him at least a few hundred thousand wavering votes. Continentals like their "rulers" to be monuments of fitness and longevity.

Time seems to work for Adenauer also in another respect; the new German Army is rapidly gaining popularity, and the assaults against men in uniform, so frequent a few months ago, have completely subsided. The "Advisory Bureaus for Conscientious Objectors," established at considerable expense by the Neutralists, pro-Communists, and pacifist Socialists, had a meager effect: only 0.4 per cent of those called to arms asked for exemption, 10 per cent demanded service longer than one year, and the disappointment of those rejected for reasons of health came as a real surprise in this time of full employment and well-paid jobs. The material comforts in the barracks are considered by the press and by the old-timers to be rather luxurious.

Yet the main weakness of the German Socialists lies in two scandals which are shaking German political life. One is the revelation of a Swedish newspaper, *Dagens Nyheter,* about the astonishing past of Herr Paul Wehner, a parliamentary leader of the Social Democratic Party's left wing. The other is the spectacular arrest of Dr. Viktor Agartz, the chief ideologist of the immensely powerful German Trade Union League. He is being charged with illicit political and financial dealings with the Soviet German Government in Pankow.

The tactics of the Socialists have not been the same in both cases. It has always been known that Herr Wehner had a Communist past, but it was less known that he had been tried by a Swedish court during the war as an agent of the USSR. He had pleaded innocent by maintaining that he merely belonged to the Communist Party and that neither the Soviet Party nor the German Party was identical with the government of the Soviet Union. However, Wehner had worked directly under Dimitrov, and the Swedish courts took a more serious view of the matter. But the Socialist Party sticks to him loyally.

On the other hand, the Socialists dissociated themselves from Dr. Agartz. It seems fairly certain that Agartz received substantial aid (in cash) from Pankow, and it matters little whether these were personal bribes or funds he was to use in the service of the Communist Party, which has been declared illegal in Western Germany.

Religious Issues

Two radically divergent Europeans died and their funerals made headlines: Cardinal Segura and Édouard Herriot.

Cardinal Segura, whose fantastically obsolete views on religious tolerance outraged America's Protestants and embarrassed Europe's Catholics, was a fanatical enemy of a) Franco, b) Falangism, c) the United States, d) Protestantism, e) Liberalism, f) "modern" dances (including the waltz) and, last but not least, Pope Pius XII. The old gentleman, replaced some time ago by a coadjutor-archbishop, demonstratively left the Eucharistic Congress in Barcelona when Franco arrived, declaring to all and sundry that he "could not breathe the same air with that man." And anybody interested in his relations with the Vatican he told frankly that in the Conclave he had voted against Pius XII. Yet when he died, the Spaniards could not but honor his extremist and absolutist stand. To this *enfant terrible* of the Church the Madrid government, forgetting the insults of the past years, gave all military and civic honors. With Cardinal Segura a whole period in the history of the Church in Spain had come to an end.

The burial of Herriot, who had repeatedly been French Prime Minister, was even more of a political event. This dean of the "Radical Socialists" was during most of his lifetime a spokesman of *laicisme,* the total elimination of religion from all aspects of public life. In 1924 he worked furiously for the complete separation of Church and State in Alsace-Lorraine, contrary to the wishes of the local population. Atheism and Agnosticism are a "religion" with a special ritual; and in France, it behooves a fervent anti-Catholic to have his body cremated and not buried (as a final test and demonstration of a life-long anti-clerical conviction). Yet in his last years Herriot, a very cultured man and author of a Beethoven biography, became a close friend of Cardinal Gerlier of Lyon. The Cardinal frequently visited the dying politician. In the presence of Madame Herriot, a long final conversation took place of which the Cardinal was prepared to divulge only one detail—Herriot's desire to have a Church burial.

Thus Herriot's funeral became a big political scandal in France, and it had to be staged in three parts: a religious ceremony in the home of the deceased; a State ceremony with many speeches; and a Christian burial. A violent protest against this "conspiracy of the Republic" came from Monsieur Daladier, who now has assumed the role of a French *laiciste* anti-Pope.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

In Defense of Fraternities: Part I

Samuel Johnson and his friends spoke of "clubbable men." Not being one such, I never joined a fraternity. When I take up my cudgel in defense of fraternities, therefore, it is from no private motive. And fraternities nowadays seem to need some disinterested champions. Surely they do not lack for energetic assailants. Nor will it do to say that all the opposition to college fraternities comes from the envious, the malign, and the collectivistically-minded. A good deal of the abuse heaped upon them does indeed come from such quarters; but there also are sharp criticisms from persons of a different stamp. In a number of *Commentary* last year, for instance, there appeared an account of fraternity exclusiveness by James Rorty. Mr. Rorty, a liberal journalist of the old school, courageous, sincere and informed, always deserves to be taken seriously, whether one agrees with him or not: he deliberately sets himself against them that sit in the seats of the mighty, and his principles are a world away from the assumptions that dominate the fashionable leftward-verging collectivistic liberalism of our day. So Mr. Rorty's criticisms, and those of some other gentlemen, are not to be dismissed as malicious or somehow subversive.

All human institutions are imperfect. And fraternities never will become perfect. It would be foolish to expect an organization of very young people, in college, to attain a perfection of conduct and policy quite unknown to any organization of adults. So we ought not to demand that the fraternities become so many Terrestrial Paradises, purged of snobbery and exclusiveness and folly. But they have been improving. The rough hazing of which they often were guilty two decades ago has diminished markedly; and at most colleges, far from being an influence detrimental to scholarship — which, on occasion, some of them used to be —they now have become, most of them, bulwarks of a decent minimum, at least, in academic performance. Fraternity brothers and sorority sisters seem to have grown increasingly tolerant, too, of differences of opinion and social standing. Fraternities are not getting worse: which is more than one can say of our world at large.

Yet criticism of fraternities, and actions against them, nevertheless have been growing more intense. Such a phenomenon is common enough in human affairs: while a prudent reform is in process, radicals often destroy both the reform and the parent institution by imprudent demands for immediate perfection. "Half way down the stairs," Tocqueville wrote of his countrymen in the age of the French Revolution, "we threw ourselves out of the window in order to get to the ground more quickly." Believing the fraternities to be forces for good, I do not want to have them thrown out of windows by radical doctrinaires.

The attack already has proceeded a great way. At the University of New York State (not to be confounded with New York University or with that old non-teaching body, the University of the State of New York), for instance, national fraternities have been banned altogther. Similar demands have been made at the University of Colorado. Pressure has been exerted in many states and institutions to abolish fraternities whose national organizations have "discriminatory" clauses in their constitutions. At Amherst, an effort was made during and shortly after World War Two—when most of the fraternity brothers were away in the Army —to close the fraternity houses permanently. At the University of Michigan, the student government—spurred on by a young Pharisee student-paper editor—has threatened to force out of existence a fraternity whose national organization is said to oppose admission of Negroes to the chapters. And this catalogue of anti-fraternity agitation could be lengthened greatly.

Any sensible discussion of matters social must take into account the origins and ends of existing institutions. American college fraternities arose to satisfy the most fundamental of social instincts, the desire for community. Being gregarious creatures, we all feel in some degree the longing for congenial companionship. And as American colleges increased in enrollment, the need for community among the students became the more real. Our fraternities, some of which are a century and a quarter old, came into existence as social clubs and arrangements for companionable living. In this country, we never had anything very like the English collegiate system, in which the colleges of a university are at once private clubs and teaching bodies. For lack of Magdalen and Christ Church, Pembroke and Merton, our students developed clubs called fraternities, in which a small number of friends, united by some simple bonds of common belief and background, might live together on a humane scale.

Now a sense of community is part of the primary needs of man. A community is satisfactory only when it is free: when its members feel that they belong voluntarily, and that their associates share common interests. College fraternities are one proven way to find satisfying community. A few of our universities and colleges, in very recent years, have established "house" systems analogous to the Oxford and Cambridge colleges, which seem to work reasonably well: but the fraternity, the college residential club, remains our principal American means for giving students a home in a college town. Fraternities are more important, indeed, than ever they were before: because the enrollments of most of our universities and colleges are now swollen to bursting-point, and the individual student is lost in a faceless mob of five or ten or even twenty thousand young people. Fraternity life is an important means of redeeming our colleges from the menace of the herd.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Remember Liberation?

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

John Robinson Beal, who has been covering the State Department for *Time* for seven years, is an able reporter and a clear, terse writer. In his *John Foster Dulles: A Biography* (Harper, $4.50) the facts in the case are set forth without embellishment to tell a connected story of a life, with special emphasis on the past five years of Eisenhower diplomacy. The only trouble with Mr. Beal's approach to his subject is that nowhere in his book does he succeed in defining what American foreign policy actually is as the first Eisenhower term gives way to the second.

When Dulles first took office it all seemed pretty clear. The Kennan policy of "containment" was to be rejected in favor of promoting the liberation of Soviet satellites. There was to be no more of this nonsense about using the Seventh Fleet to protect the Chinese Communists along Formosa Strait while they were fighting us in North Korea. To end uncertainty about what the United States might do in case of Communist depredations in Southeast Asia and Eastern Europe, our armed forces would stand poised in readiness to mete out "massive retaliation" on a "selective" basis if the provocation were deemed sufficiently great.

To give Mr. Dulles his due, the then professed Eisenhower policy was a miraculous improvement over the Acheson White Paper on China. To be sure, the war in Korea was settled in a somewhat craven manner, but it could be argued that creative possibilities had gone out of the war with the recall of MacArthur, and there was little chance of reviving them to the point where they could be used as a lever to break the Red Chinese power on the Asiatic mainland. When the islands of Quemoy and Matsu were threatened, Dulles and Eisenhower blocked the attempt of the British to sign them away to Mao Tse-tung. In Indochina the Communists did manage to achieve new territorial expansion, but this could reasonably be ascribed to the refusal of the French and the British to go along with Mr. Dulles in standing firm "at the brink." As for the European situation, while the backing and filling over EDC and the commitments of NATO went on, the Communists had come to a point of stalemate. They quit Austria, but they have received no *quid* for the *quo* in the shape of a neutralized Germany—at least, not yet.

The tragic thing about it all is that the early successes of the Dulles policies seemed to breed a fatuous magnanimity. Instead of talking more firmly about liberation of the satellites we succumbed to the "Geneva spirit." Mr. Beal makes nothing of this weakening; he doesn't even see that it has happened. He talks about the "calculated risk" of "going to the brink" over Quemoy and in Indochina. But there isn't a word about our failure to go within forty miles of the brink in our reaction to the revolution in Hungary. He gives us the "inside" about the Dulles "gambit" in retracting the offer to Egypt of money for the Aswan Dam when the Russians were making some bluffing offers of their own; but if there were any "agonizing" discussions about the advisability of telling Khrushchev that NATO might react if Soviet tanks moved toward Budapest, they are not reported here. The policy of "liberation" may still stand, but the difference between it and "containment" cannot be discernible anywhere east of the Iron Curtain in the light of what has happened since last October.

When Dulles was telling the Red Chinese that any move on Quemoy or Matsu would be interpreted by us as a provocative move on Formosa, his end was not "peace." The end was to protect Formosa. And it succeeded. The lesson that action is the test of statesmanship was apparently taken to heart by Israel's Ben Gurion; at any rate, he decided to move against Egypt before it was too late. Just why the United States should have deemed it its duty to halt Israel and to call off the British and the French attempt to settle an issue by force at Suez must seem a mystery after Dulles' successful employment of what has been called "brinkmanship" in the Far East. We were willing to risk war over Formosa without British and French permission, or without referring our own problem to the UN; indeed, we went ahead in Asia despite vocal British objections.

The fact is that we have never renounced the use of force where our own vital interests are concerned. It must seem a trifle hypocritical, then, when we invoke the Charter of the United Nations and Article One of the North Atlantic Treaty to stop other nations from doing what we ourselves would do in similar circumstances. If Israel proposed doing something about the big build-up of Egyptian armaments during a time of actual Egyptian raids on Israeli soil from the Gaza Strip, just how did this differ from the reaction of the United States to the presence of a Communist government in Guatemala? In failing to discuss such questions Mr. Beal leaves one with the distinct impression that he is for Dulles on a "right or wrong" basis.

It is the more peculiar in that Dulles himself has never been one to insist that the UN is more important than policy itself. If the UN had not been invoked by Dulles and Eisenhower, would the dispute among the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

British, the French and the Egyptians have resulted in a "disastrous breakdown in world order and almost certainly a new world war waged with nuclear weapons," as Mr. Beal supposes? Since Nasser had no atomic weapons, and since the Israeli army had already beaten the Egyptians, it is hard to see how this could have happened. This is quite aside from the question of Anglo-French ability to carry through what they started when they moved on Suez: maybe Eisenhower and Dulles did the British and the French a good turn in ending the war before their feebleness had become apparent to the world. But Mr. Beal does not justify the Eisenhower-Dulles interference on any such practical ground. He sticks to the point that the Administration was right in saying that "we do not accept the use of force as a wise or proper instrument for the settlement of international disputes." And this in the face of Dulles' own remarks on "brinkmanship," which may be defined as the successful deployment of deterrent power.

The truth is that Dulles has been as successful as he has been precisely because he compelled the Communists to reckon with the possibility that the United States would use force if sufficiently provoked. It would be a pity if the insights of the first Eisenhower term were to be hopelessly lost in the "no-force" delusions under which we seem to be starting the second.

Hamiltonian Schizophrenia

Alexander Hamilton in the American Tradition, by Louis M. Hacker. 273 pp. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. $4.75

In *Alexander Hamilton in the American Tradition,* Louis Hacker does battle for the most belabored (if not also belittled) of the Founding Fathers.

But Hacker fails to justify Hamilton entirely, in the eyes of today's libertarians, as he seems to have set out to do. While he easily disposes of Hamilton's less careful detractors, he does not manage to meet the charge that logical extensions of Hamilton's thinking have led to an oppressive use of governmental powers to establish that equalitarian despotism over society that Hamilton himself feared. Hacker cannot fully justify Hamilton (and he more or less concedes this in the Epilogue) for the reason that Hamilton's beliefs spanned paradoxes—for the reason that within Hamilton's doctrines there dwells their negation.

What, in Hamilton's view, are the legitimate ends of government? "The means by which national exigencies are to be provided for, national inconveniences obviated, national prosperity promoted, are of such infinite variety, extent, and complexity, that there must of necessity be great latitude of discretion in the selection of those means."

This is a loose construction of the Constitution, based upon implied powers, argued from the basis of the "welfare" clause. Hamilton relies on the prudence of men. Before we cry hotly that this is imprudent in itself, that it contradicts Hamilton's own previous observations on the shortcomings of man, let us remember that Hamilton's presupposition is essentially fair: there exists in fact wisdom in governors. For government presupposes such wisdom. Otherwise we must all resort to anarchy—or to the neo-anarchism of direct democracy.

Nevertheless, such presumed wisdom is often conspicuous by its absence; and Hacker admits that Hamilton's rationale served the New Deal well. But again, let us remember that without the National Bank, which this construction of the Constitution by Hamilton made possible, America in all likelihood would have been bankrupt and would have fallen prey either to France or England, or fallen by default to radicals of a Jacobinical stamp.

We must understand that our Founding Fathers were both revolutionary and conservative. Theirs was an astounding accommodation, but politically workable; out of it was wrought the finest conservative political instrument of all time: the Constitution.

This schizophrenia of the Founding Fathers has finally separated into the two opposing intellectual camps of our age. Liberals and libertarians must acknowledge the essentially dualistic character of the American tradition. Those of us who call ourselves libertarians (or conservatives, or what have you) share Jefferson's distrust of a strong central government ("It is always oppressive"), and his emphasis on the primacy of the legislature; we deny his equalitarianism, especially as interpreted today. With Hamilton we believe in the need for a hierarchically representative republican government, strong enough—but just strong enough—to maintain social order; but we join with Madison and Jefferson in strictly construing the Constitution; although, once again, modern libertarians would agree with Hamilton that there are prudential reasons requiring that the central government be admitted certain carefully defined and delimited powers to meet exigencies.

Similarly, Hamilton—the implacable enemy of radical democracy—encouraged that loose construction of the Constitution that nowadays threatens us with our peculiar form of democratic tyranny.

Mr. Hacker, by pointing out this paradox in his almost completely successful rehabilitation of Hamilton, has done an incalculable service to our political thinking. Hamilton is indeed in the American tradition. Like most of his contemporaries, he bridges the chasm between today's collectivism and libertarianism. But as everybody knows, it is easier to straddle a river at the source than at the mouth. It is an irony of tragic proportions that by the men who built the nation were the seeds of its dissolution sown. F. R. BUCKLEY

To order any book reviewed in this book section, write:

THE BOOKMAILER
Box 101, Murray Hill Station
New York 16, N.Y.
Return mail service—postpaid
PAY ONLY BOOKSTORE PRICE

$.....payment enclosed

Please send me: .....
(name of book)

.....

.....

Name .....

Address .....

.....

(No C.O.D. orders accepted; payment MUST accompany order. N.Y. City residents add 3% tax.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hello, Nothing

Papa You're Crazy, by William Saroyan. 165 pp. Boston: Atlantic-Little Brown. $3.75

Whenever I think of Saroyan, I see a boundlessly energetic boy making a doodle. It's fun, wholesome, relaxing; another way of breathing. It's easy, too—"Look Ma, I'm typing!" It goes on for years. Parts of it turn up in magazines, books, theaters, movies, and they are all interchangeable. For Time, which can erode granite and turn worms into butterflies and mature some writers, leaves Saroyan alone. *Papa You're Crazy* is an exact contemporary of *The Daring Young Man on the Flying Trapeze.*

It is about a divorced father whose ten-year-old son comes to spend a few months with him at a house on the Pacific coast. No television, no frozen desserts, no fish-tailed station wagon. Just Pop, who is a "crazy, hungary writer" with little money, much gusto, and even more reverence for guess-who. They cook, sleep soundly, watch the sky, light driftwood fires, play word games, and talk. In the end, the son wants to be a writer too. So would Eisenhower. It looks like so much fun and so little bother that it would be masochistic to want to be anything else.

This boyish, unqualified delight at being a writer has always been Saroyan's real subject. I doubt if his readers—even during the Depression—were ever seriously interested in his sermons about the beautiful people breathing deeply and placing their bets on tomorrow morning. What they really liked was Saroyan's fantasy-image of the writer holding down the easiest and least fettered job in the world.

Just look at him. He gets up at dawn. Hello, Sky, he says and sits down to his typewriter to knock off a short story or two. ("Ease is what I wanted to introduce," he once said of his work.) On the way to the PO, he stops in at the bakery and has a fresh loaf of bread and some real cheese. Back home, he swims, hunts mussels, inhales, exhales, and reviews a book. Later in the afternoon, a producer phones from New York, offering him a one-thousand-dollar advance on an unwritten play. Fine. Now he makes a fresh pot of coffee and after five cups he goes out for a walk in the rain. He thinks. He dreams. He is free.

All of this happens in *Papa You're Crazy.* There is no anguish, no loss, no desolation. None of Mallarmé's sadness of the flesh, none of James' loneliness, none of Joyce's exile, none of Shakespeare's heartbreak, none of Flaubert's struggle for the right word; above all, *no hard work.* Just healthy assent; inhale and exhale; and the satisfaction of telling the rest of the world on your book jacket, "I am proud to be a writer, the writer I am, and I don't care what anybody else is proud of."

Lucky Saroyan. I only hope that some day he writes a story about a writer who thanks God there has been only one Saroyan getting into print all these years. ROBERT PHELPS

Outside the Pale

Economic Institutions and Human Welfare, by John Maurice Clark. 295 pp. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $5.50.

Economists have always worshipped living Titans, but since the death of Keynes there have been none to worship (although Schumpeter had an odd posthumous flurry). So our economists have had to settle for a Grand Old Man, and J. M. Clark clearly has all the qualifications.

He is the son of J. B. Clark, an authentic Titan, thus linking us with a happier past. He pegs along as a charming fount of moderate and correct thought, gently chiding the various sects for their extremism. Above all, Clark is a *comfortable* economist; in his capacious and eclectic world, all schools of economic thought, including mutually inconsistent ones, find some sort of home. All schools that is, but one—*laissez-faire. Laissez-faire* is the only doctrine that really arouses Clark's ire, the only one Outside the Pale. And this, of course, is Clark's crowning qualification for the title of Grand Old Man.

In this book, Clark dispenses his patriarchal wisdom in a collection of essays roughly devoted to the problems of economic freedom and welfare. One thing is made perfectly clear from the outset: "complete freedom" and *laissez-faire* are "myths," and myths of "ultraconservative" businessmen to boot. Everything else in the world may be vague, but let there be no nonsense about *that.* Clark finds little need to discuss them, since "they hardly need disproof." We do find poor old Herbert Spencer's "law of equal freedom" caricatured as usual, however: Clark interprets it as including the freedom of every man to blackjack another. (But the fellow *being* blackjacked has no freedom at all!) We are also warned that "personal freedom and freedom of business enterprise are not the same" (business, presumably, not being run by persons.) Total collectivism is also dismissed, although more civilly, as undemocratic and inflexible.

We are thus led quickly to the painless and well-trod "middle of the road," a comfortable if inchoate world of "balance." We must have some government planning, but not too much; some social security, but not too much; some private enterprise, some labor union power, but not too much, etc. *Where* the lines should be drawn, Clark is of course not bold enough to say. If nothing else, he is insistent on endless flexibility and evolutionary change; in such a world of flux, how or why draw limits or make distinctions?

Clark's pragmatic middle is so attractive to present-day economists and intellectuals because his counterfeit wisdom reflects the bog of their own ideas and of the world they have brought into being. It is a vague and confused world, shunning vigorous and consistent thought or its practical application like the plague, ready to place its stamp of benign approval on almost *any* "mixed economy" that happens to emerge.

MURRAY N. ROTHBARD

Spanish Mission

The Treasures of Mission Santa Inés, by Kurt Baer. 323 pp. Fresno, California: Academy of California Church History. $5.00

The convents and churches founded by the Spaniards in California can scarcely be compared in complexity or ornamentation to those of Mexico, but it is perfectly true, as Dr. Baer says, that "even the more elaborate of the California churches . . . are notable for their restraint on the architectural decoration. . . ." Though undoubtedly fashioned after Mexican models, the California churches more than compensate for the lack of elaborate ornament in the poise, the beauty, and the equilibrium of their proportions, tending more to the classic than to the Baroque.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dr. Baer gives a detailed account of the history of the Spanish missions to California from about the middle of the eighteenth century, with quotations from detractors and sympathizers alike. La Perouse admired their work for the Indians, who were of a far more primitive type than the noble Redskins of the mountains and of the North and could not compare in civilization with the Mexicans of the South. They had squat bodies and short legs, were slow to learn, and had never heard of agriculture.

This book is, in part, a detailed catalogue of all the works of art in pictures, sculpture, or mural paintings, which decorate the interior of the church and the mission of Santa Inés—the first and one of the finest art collections ever seen in North America. From certain distortions it is certain that Indians took part in these works; but the art is Spanish. The mixture of primitive Indian or Mexican with the Spanish art which they were imitating gives some delightful results (as in the picture of Our Lady of the Journey on page 210). One can always see when the California Indian stepped in to help with the decoration, because of the squat figures and short legs; but it certainly gives a quaint charm to some of these Indianized Madonnas and saints, and does not detract from one's reverence. These works seem to have been performed in a most devout spirit, which is communicated to those who have seen them, either in reality or in the excellent illustrations to this book. ROY CAMPBELL

Juridical Tour

Transnational Law, by Philip C. Jessup. 113 pp. New Haven: Yale University Press. $3.00

Following the general rule that association with Communist fronts and criticism by congressional committees are the top qualifications for academic distinction, Philip C. Jessup was asked to deliver the 1956 Storrs Lectures at the Yale Law School. The Rockefeller Foundation, naturally, put up money to finance their preparation.

The result is pretty good, at that. Professor Jessup conducts a tour, for the most part pointed and specific, of that hazy but growingly important juridical realm beyond the internal laws of nations J. B.

Next trip he'll travel by Pullman! A man wants to be fresh and alert when he makes important calls. That's why he should save and renew his energy at every opportunity. Even while he's *traveling* he can do this—if he gets a good night's sleep on a Pullman!

Travel by Pullman is peace of mind . . . freedom from tensions and fatigue . . . a refreshing change of pace. And, most important of all, it's energy-building *sleep* the whole night through, in a king-size bed!

Pullman travel is the comfortable, *carefree* way to go almost anywhere. No weather worries or uncertain schedules . . . no highway hazards or traffic problems. Make "Travel by Pullman" a part of your energy conservation program. It's a restful, healthful travel habit that pays dividends—to you, your family, and your firm! Try it on your very next trip.

ARRIVE RESTED AND REFRESHED . . . BY

Pullman

© 1957, THE PULLMAN COMPANY

Have a rent-a-car waiting if you wish!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To the Editor

"Printing Press Money"

Congratulations to Frank Chodorov for writing "How To Pay for World War III" [April 27]. . . .

Perhaps the only flaw in Mr. Chodorov's article is that he didn't carry the logic of it into other fields than war. For it applies, as well, to the cost of all the pump-priming that was done to bring recovery from depression, to the cost of foreign aid, and all the other extravagances our government has been indulging in.

Fact is, the only reason we seemed to need Big Government at all was that only through the expansion of government debt was it possible for enough "money" to be put into circulation to restore the price level to pre-depression levels and thus make resumption of normal business activity possible.

A managed system of "printing press money" would have served the purpose much better. . . .

Delta, Utah RICHARD S. MORRISON

Old Discovery Depletion

In your issue of April 13, your otherwise excellent [editorial] "Self-Portrait in Oil" is marred by the statement that the rule of percentage depletion and the rate of 27½ per cent were introduced under Roosevelt. This method was introduced in the Revenue Act of 1926 and the rate then provided has been unchanged since. The rule of discovery depletion had been introduced in 1918, and had produced such a maze of administrative difficulties and inequities as to induce the search for another formula to accomplish the same result. It appears that the range of allowances set up by Bureau rulings under discovery depletion was 25 to 30 per cent, and the figure decided upon was the usual half-way compromise which has long characterized the Congressional way of settling differences.

New York City HARLEY L. LUTZ

The Norman Case

The death of E. Herbert Norman has aroused an emotional frenzy among Canadians, evoking charges of "murder by slander" against the U.S. Senate committee . . . No one seems to have noticed that suicide is more frequently the reaction of guilt brought to bay than of innocence outraged by false accusation.

Further, just how certain is it that Norman's death was suicide? If he really was a Soviet agent, and his masters thought he might break and talk, they would not hesitate to murder him and provide suicide notes.

I do not say that Norman actually was guilty, or that he was murdered by the MVD; only that the circumstances of his death must *increase* the suspicions against him. The most intensive investigation of his life and his death becomes imperative.

Chicago, Ill. GEORGE W. PRICE

A Correction

In the editorial "Dishonest Report" [April 27] you state that Senator Andrew Schoeppel is from Kentucky. I believe you are in error, and that Senator Schoeppel is from Kansas. . . .

New York City W. S. CAMPBELL

[Senator Schoeppel is indeed from Kansas. THE EDITORS]

Joyce Cary

I share your admiration of Joyce Cary [editorial, April 13], but I have to point out that you have said some very wrong things about him. To call him "essentially unpolitical" is as exactly wrong as you can be. On the contrary, his entire achievement in fiction was devoted to the conscious exposition, in terms of the art of fiction, of his philosophical and political ideas.

His major political work, primer-like in outline and simplicity, yet profoundly arresting in its insights, was *Power in Men*, which was written for the British Liberal Party. In essence, I would say, the general position of this book corresponds with that of the American Chicago school. It treats "government" as a verb, as the relationship between human wills in all the affairs of life. This approach, of course, permits a much more fruitful analysis of the loci and directions of human power, their interchanges and effects.

Cary stood with Chester Nimmo, the mover and shaker, the compromiser, the practical politician tarnished in the struggle yet striking sparks as he went. He stood against Jim Latter, Nimmo's moral antagonist, the traditional conservative, who believed that private morality, traditional virtues, provided the complete guide to public policy.

He illustrated in his fiction each position, of course, with fidelity and imaginative penetration. But, as he wrote me, he stands with Nimmo.

He stood with Nimmo because he believed that life is struggle and movement and tumult, and that the traditional conservative, in his sturdy isolation, is like a rock which the rushing course of events streams by and inevitably erodes. He was a libertarian individualist, to find an approximate tag, who stood with Nimmo, the demagogue-idealist, not because he did not see Nimmo's failings but because Nimmo dared to strive. And he was not afraid of the Nimmos of the world because of the strength of his belief in the individual. He believed, he actually did, in the inevitability of democracy and free institutions. He believed that however severe the repressions of tyranny, advances in technology, advances in mass education, create power in individual hands, create educated people seeking their own betterment, create and proliferate groups and group struggles and the myriad balancing impulses and forces which create that pluralistic society we call a free one.

In this Cary anticipated, by two decades, the ferment beyond the Iron Curtain, and the emerging pattern of Communism and its eventual internal crack-up. And in this he was more courageous and far-sighted than some of our most ardent conservatives, particularly those ex-leftists and ex-Communists who have not been able completely to abandon the patterns of thought which led them to their original follies, who think of politics in terms of conflicting monolithic abstractions, who see the world as the play of forces and historical movements rather than the arena of individual human beings seeking life.

New York City EDWARD CASE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Landmarks for Progress...

"It's not what our ancestors were...but what kind of ancestors we will be—that counts"

In those words, a Pennsylvania farmer, representing the ninth generation to own the farm he now operates, expressed his philosophy about keeping his land in a high state of productivity as a heritage to succeeding generations.

A similar philosophy is needed to perpetuate any business *profitably*. Kennametal Inc., as an example, enjoys a brilliant heritage. Kennametal was first to produce a hard carbide metal that could cut steel successfully. It was first to apply carbides to cutter bits that made continuous mining practical, and first with developments in carbide tooling that have saved the metalworking industry billions of dollars through increased production.

All this was made possible by a metal that will wear up to 100 times as long as the hardest alloy, a metal that is three times as stiff as the hardest steel, and a metal that retains its great strength at 1800°F and above.

The fact that Kennametal sales have grown 600 times in 18 years proves the value of this heritage . . . and clearly defines the job to be done in the future. For it's what we do today, with an eye on the needs of the future, that really counts. And that is the philosophy at Kennametal as we look for new horizons. We plan to build more plants, expand research facilities with a new "thinking, trying, doing" center where we can create new hard carbide metals to meet new requirements of industry, as well as to extend the profitable use of existing compositions.

KENNAMETAL INC., Department NR, Latrobe, Pa.

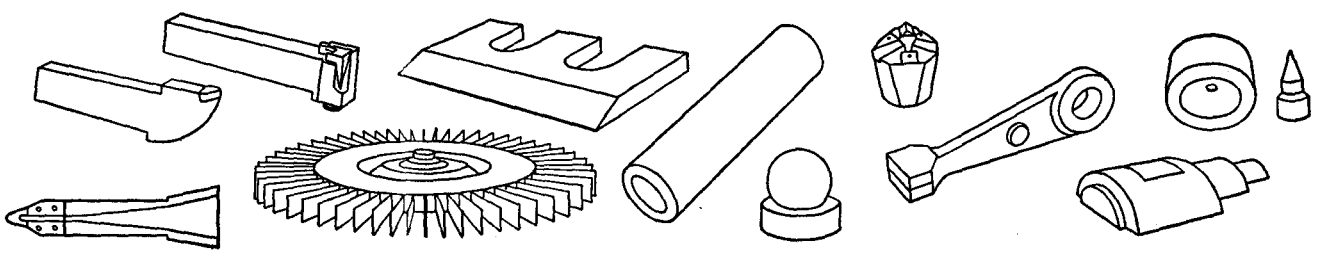
NOTE: If you are a businessman and interested in more information about Kennametal and its applications, please write us.

Another Precious Heritage

By using Kennametal, American Industry has obtained more production for less cost . . . has lowered prices and increased profits. But the greater profits, and all savings, thus made possible could *buy more* if our government would re-establish a Gold Coin Standard, which is one of our greatest heritages. It was wiped out by Inflation Paper Money that dilutes our dollars . . . dollars whose purchasing power once was held uniformly high by our Gold Standard.

*Trademarks of a series of hard carbide alloys of tungsten, tungsten-titanium, and tantalum with unusual resistance to abrasion, deformation, impact, corrosion, heat and other destructive forces.

. . . these are some of the things Kennametal* makes



INDUSTRY AND **KENNAMETAL**

...Partners in Progress

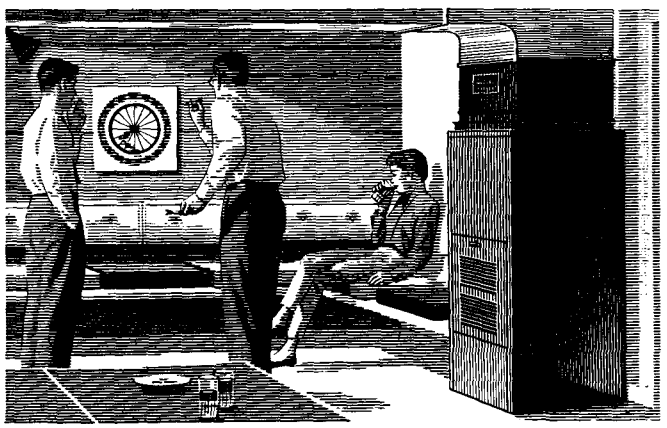
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BETTER AIR CONDITIONING FOR EVERYBODY EVERYWHERE

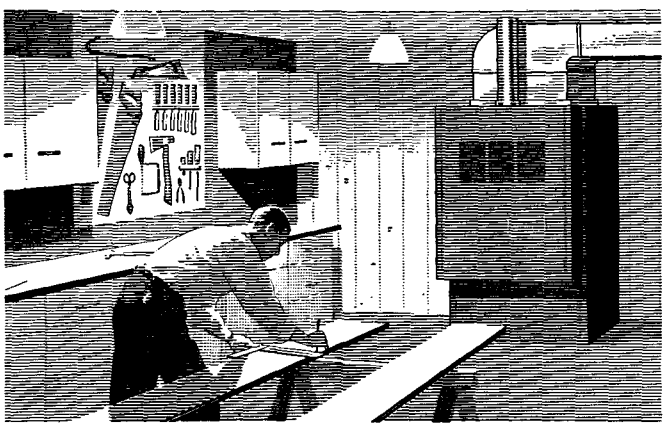
Carrier

Which is the best way to air condition your home?

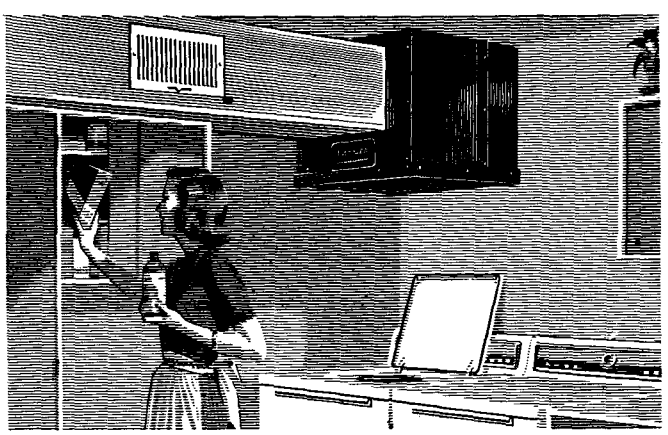
That depends on the house. The size of your family, the kind of heating plant, the number of windows can make a big difference. To make sure of the best way to air condition your home, talk with the Carrier dealer in your community. He handles every type of air conditioning. So his only interest is to recommend the type that serves you best. Throughout the world, in thousands of dependable installations, Carrier air conditioning serves more people and more purposes than any other make. Good reason to call the Carrier dealer listed in your Classified Telephone Directory. Carrier Corporation, Syracuse, New York.



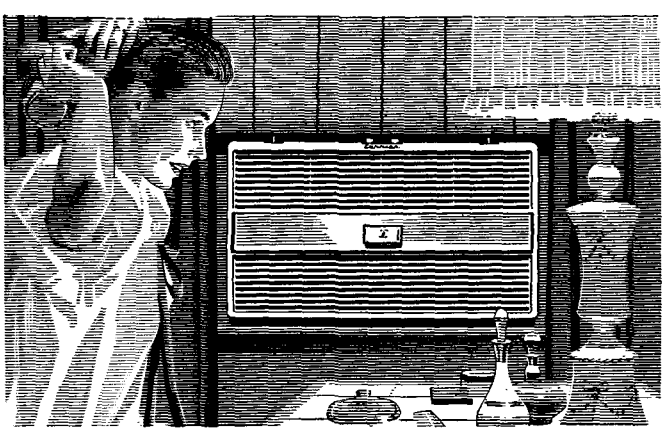
Do you have a good warm-air furnace? Add a Carrier Summer Weathermaker* on top of your present furnace and existing ductwork will handle both cooling and heating. Requires no water.



Ready to replace your furnace? Install a Carrier Year-round Weathermaker to cool and heat your whole house instead of a furnace that merely heats. Will occupy same space as most furnaces.



Do you have steam heat or a floor furnace? This Carrier Summer Weathermaker works independently of your heating system. Has its own simple ductwork. Will cool your entire house.



Do you want to cool just a room? There's a Carrier Room Weathermaker with exclusive Power Cooling for rooms of every size. Quickly and easily installed, they occupy no space inside the room.

*REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED